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# The Concept of Multiculturalism: A Study Among Dutch Majority Members

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The current study examined the concept of multiculturalism as seen by 1,285 Dutch majority members, and tested its expected relation with acculturation and intergroup relations aspects. The concepts of multiculturalism and acculturation were unidimensional. Dutch majority members were slightly positive (almost neutral) toward multiculturalism, and saw both its advantages and disadvantages. They preferred immigrants to adapt as much as possible, and they perceived a norm that they should approve the immigrant's way of living. A path model showed that acculturation orientations and intergroup relations aspects (perceived social norms/social distance) predicted multicultural attitudes. Furthermore, multicultural attitudes predicted contact with and knowledge about immigrants. Finally, level of education and perceived opportunities in society were positively associated with multicultural attitudes.

*Multiculturalism*, the culturally heterogeneous composition of a society, has been studied by many different disciplines, such as anthropology (e.g., Saunders & Haljan, 2003), sociology (e.g., Kivisto, 2002), and political science (e.g., Citrin, Sears, Muste, & Wong, 2001), all focusing on different aspects of multiculturalism. In psychology, multiculturalism is seen as an ideology that refers to the acceptance of cultural diversity, and also active support for these cultural differences by both majority group and immigrant group members (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000, 2003; Berry & Kalin, 1995, 2002). Yet, psychological research on the topic is only recent (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Berry & Kalin, 1995, 2002; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Chrysoschoou, 2000; Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Ho, 1990; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zick, Wagner,

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Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). This is remarkable, since multiculturalism refers to various psychological concepts, such as acculturation, social identities, intergroup relations, and group perceptions.

Multiculturalism is closely related to much older and frequently studied concepts, such as ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1906/1940) and authoritarianism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). These concepts are usually seen as characteristics of individuals or groups, while multiculturalism is much more relationship oriented, and assumes a context of cultural heterogeneity and actual or possible intercultural contact. Psychological research has hardly examined multiculturalism in this perspective or, in other words, the psychological meaning of multiculturalism (cf. Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Berry, 2001; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Ginges & Cairns, 2000).

### Theoretical Background

In his framework of the psychology of immigration, Berry (1984, 2001) argued that the multicultural ideology is related to two aspects; namely, acculturation and intergroup relations. The common ground of acculturation and multicultural ideology involves the role of cultural maintenance by immigrants. Multiculturalism ideology holds that cultural diversity is good for one's society and its members, which implies that all cultural groups should be allowed to maintain their culture.

In Berry's (1984, 2001) framework, acculturation and multiculturalism are seen as *counterparts*, meaning that they are the same but are perceived differently by two groups. A *multicultural ideology* deals with how one group (mostly the majority group) thinks that ethnocultural groups should acculturate, while *acculturation* refers to how these groups prefer to acculturate. The relationship between acculturation and multiculturalism has also been addressed in the interactive acculturation model by Bourhis, Moïse, Pereault, and Senécal (1997; see also Berry, 1974, 1997). The combination of these acculturation orientations of both groups can result in three relational outcomes; namely, consensual, problematic, and conflictual. A harmonious multicultural society requires a consensual relationship between mainstreamers and immigrants, which assumes that both groups support integration.

The relationship between intergroup relations and multicultural ideology is based on the need to share and accommodate diversity in an equitable way, which means strong intergroup contact and participation. In Berry's (2001) framework, intergroup relations are viewed as antecedents of multicultural ideology. This ideology has close empirical links to ethnic attitudes and

prejudice, but is obviously more related to policy options for managing intergroup relations in plural societies. This has also been argued by Brewer and Brown (1998), as ethnic prejudice is a universal phenomenon (e.g., Berry, 2001; Pettigrew, 1998).

The question of whether to hold an assimilationist policy or a multiculturalism policy is an important issue for many multicultural societies. Both can be seen as endpoints of a policy continuum. An assimilation ideology involves active adjustment by immigrant groups in order to reduce or even eliminate differences between groups (with the aim of reducing interethnic prejudice and threat). A multicultural ideology involves the recognition and appreciation of diversity (with the aim of supporting immigrants to maintain their cultural identity and the risk of maintaining ethnic prejudice; see also Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perreault, 1997).

Intergroup relations have many features. The current study focuses on those that are closely related to ethnic prejudice; namely, perceived social norms, ethnic hierarchy/social distance, intergroup contact, and knowledge about out-groups. According to Ajzen and Fishbein (1980; see also Eagly & Chaiken, 1998), someone's own prejudice toward out-groups is dependent on the opinion of significant others and, hence, perceived social norms. Crandall and his colleagues (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002) confirmed this by showing that people reported their own prejudice (toward all kinds of out-groups, like racial groups or physically challenged individuals) according to how socially acceptable it was.

Kleinpenning (1993) argued that the level of prejudice of majority group members toward immigrant groups is (indirectly) related to the ethnic hierarchy/cultural distance. Immigrant groups who are perceived to have less in common with the majority group members might be viewed as more distant. In this way, a hierarchy of the immigrant groups emerges (i.e., ethnic hierarchy/cultural distance). Groups lower in the hierarchy have less in common with the majority (see also Berry, 1984; Berry & Kalin, 2002; Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Osbeck et al., 1997). Several studies of ethnic hierarchy (or ethnic/cultural distance) have been conducted. In The Netherlands, the following rank order seems to emerge in a fairly consistent way across studies (from high to low): Western European immigrants, Spaniards, Jews, Surinamers, Antilleans, Mollucans, Turks, and Moroccans (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989; Kleinpenning, 1993; Verkuyten, Hagendoorn, & Masson, 1996).

Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, and Hoogsteder (2004) showed that the ethnic hierarchy, or social distance, felt by Dutch majority members toward four immigrant groups (i.e., Surinamers, Antilleans, Turks, and Moroccans) was related to the amount of contact these immigrants groups had with the host society. Immigrant groups higher on the ethnic hierarchy (i.e., Suri-

namers and Antilleans) had more contact with Dutch group members than did groups lower on the hierarchy (i.e., Turks and Moroccans).<sup>2</sup>

The relationship between prejudice, intergroup contact, and knowledge has been described in the contact hypothesis (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Brewer & Gaertner, 2001; Forbes, 1997; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004). The hypothesis predicts that direct contact and knowledge about out-groups lead to more positive attitudes, more acceptance, and less prejudice, if four conditions are met: (a) the groups have an equal status; (b) the groups have common goals; (c) there is no competition between the groups; and (d) authorities sanction the contact. Although the contact hypothesis assumes that the causal direction goes from contact and knowledge to attitudes, Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004) found that knowledge about immigrants predicted multicultural attitudes, which in turn predicted the amount of contact with immigrants. So, the causality between ethnic contact, knowledge, ethnic prejudice, and attitudes might not be as clear as assumed in the contact hypothesis.

Only a few studies of multiculturalism have included acculturation and intergroup relation aspects (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). Therefore, little is known about their relationships. The next section reviews the most important empirical studies of multiculturalism.

## Empirical Findings

### *Studies on the Concept of Multiculturalism*

Few studies have focused on the construct validity of multiculturalism (Berry, 2001; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Goot, 1993; Ho, 1990; Joppke, 1996; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Taylor & Lambert, 1996). Dutch studies (using different instruments for assessing attitudes toward multiculturalism) have shown that the concept of multiculturalism is unidimensional (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). This means that Dutch majority members see the various items of the multiculturalism scale as referring to a single concept, and do not subdivide this concept into independent components.

<sup>2</sup>Surinamers and (Dutch) Antilleans are immigrants coming from former colonies of The Netherlands. They tend to have more knowledge of the Dutch language and culture than do Turks and Moroccans. The immigration of the latter two groups started in the 1960s. The main reasons for their migration are availability of labor, family reunion, and marriage.

*Studies of Level of Support*

Most studies have found average scores that were close to the scale midpoint, which points to a neutral attitude toward multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). However, Breugelmans and Van de Vijver showed that the neutral average is composed of scores on domains, which can differ substantially from the scale midpoint. The authors covered four domains in their questionnaire: attitudes toward multiculturalism in Dutch society (e.g., "I feel at ease when I am in a city district with many immigrants"), attitudes toward the acculturation strategies of immigrant groups (e.g., "I think that immigrants should learn to speak proper Dutch"), attitudes toward acculturation strategies of the majority group (e.g., "I think that Dutch schools should think more about the cultural background of their pupils"), and attitudes toward equal societal participation and interaction between majority and immigrant groups (e.g., "I think that immigrants and mainstreamers should have equal rights"). On the one hand, exclusionist and racist positions were not endorsed, while on the other hand, cultural pluralism was not seen as a valuable asset of the Dutch society. So, although Dutch majority members see multiculturalism as one concept, this unidimensionality should not be interpreted as meaning that all aspects of multiculturalism are equally supported. Similarly, Ginges and Cairns (2000) found that Australian citizens supported the view that multiculturalism is seen as having various advantages (e.g., cultural and social enrichment, adequate use of human resources). However, they also agreed with statements about the disadvantages of multiculturalism, such as the threat to the status quo, unity, and stability of the country.

Dutch studies have consistently shown that Dutch majority members endorse multiculturalism less strongly than do immigrant groups (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). According to the ideological asymmetry hypothesis proposed by social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; see also Verkuyten & Brug, 2004), this result is not surprising, because multiculturalism is more beneficial for immigrant group members than for majority group members. Multiculturalism offers the first group the possibility to maintain their own culture and to obtain more social status in society, while the latter group may perceive immigrants and their wish to maintain their culture as a threat to the majority group identity and status.

*Studies of Correlates of Multiculturalism (and Some Shortcomings)*

A multicultural ideology assumes (among other things) that ethnic groups do not need to give up their culture in the country of settlement (Berry &

Kalin, 1995, 2002), implying that a positive relation between multicultural attitudes and cultural maintenance can be expected. Various studies have found support for this relation. However, these studies also have shown that the majority members have a less positive attitude toward cultural maintenance (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten, 2005). For example, Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver found that Dutch majority members like immigrant group members to give up their ethnic culture, as compared to Turkish Dutch respondents who favor integration. Other studies also have shown that mainstreamers tend to be less in favor of cultural maintenance. Dutch, German, and Slovakian majority members prefer that immigrants give up their ethnic culture (e.g., Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Pointkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Zick et al., 2001).

The distinction between the public and private domain is important here. Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) found that Turkish-Dutch preferred integration in public domains and separation in private domains, while the view of Dutch majority members preferred assimilation (to integration) in all life domains. Taylor and Lambert (1996) demonstrated the relevance of the public-private distinction for multiculturalism by showing that both the majority and immigrant groups in North America endorsed cultural maintenance by immigrant groups in the private domain, and preferred adjustment by immigrant groups in the public domain.

A shortcoming of the aforementioned studies is that little is known about what majority group members think they themselves should do to adjust to a multicultural society. Schalk-Soekar et al. (2004) found that Dutch majority members did not support the idea that they should get more involved with immigrants, suggesting that Dutch majority members are less prepared to adjust themselves to their multicultural society.

A multicultural ideology also assumes that diversity should be accepted and actively supported, suggesting a negative relation between multicultural attitudes and aspects such as ethnocentrism, perceived ethnic threat, and exclusion of immigrants among majority group members. Empirical findings confirm this relationship (see Citrin et al., 2001; Ho, 1990; Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). Other studies that have focused on attitudes toward immigration and immigrants have shown a negative relation between perceived threat, intergroup competition, and negative attitudes toward (aspects of) immigration (see Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Raijman, Semyonov, & Schmidt, 2003; Semyonov, Raijman, Tov, & Schmidt, 2004), which assumes that these aspects are also negatively related with multiculturalism.

A shortcoming is that it is not clear how ethnic hierarchy/cultural distance is related to multiculturalism. Schalk-Soekar et al. (2004) showed that ethnic

hierarchy can successfully address differences in psychological experiences of various immigrant groups in The Netherlands. For example, groups that are higher in the hierarchy reported fewer feelings of discrimination and reported more contact with mainstreamers. It can be assumed that this mechanism also works at an individual level: Majority members who feel less distance from immigrant groups are expected to show more support for multiculturalism.

### *Studies on Demographic and Person Characteristics*

Goot (1993) found that opponents of multiculturalism in Australia thought that immigrants were given more opportunities to study and to work than mainstream members, whereas proponents thought that immigrants were given fewer opportunities. Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004) showed that perceived opportunities in life (compared to those of immigrants) positively influenced multiculturalism by Dutch majority members. Kagitcibasi (1997) argued that fewer perceived opportunities for jobs and education can form a threat for majority members.

Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004) found a positive relationship between life satisfaction and multicultural attitudes. These authors also found that the percentage of immigrants living in a certain district influenced Dutch majority members' attitudes toward multiculturalism. Contrary to what the contact hypothesis would predict, districts with more immigrants showed more negative attitudes toward multiculturalism.

Concerning demographic variables, age and gender have not shown systematic relationships with multiculturalism. Ho (1990) found no effect of these variables on multiculturalism, while Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2000) reported only a small positive effect of age. The results for education are less ambiguous. Both social identity theory and realistic group conflict theory (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1984; see also Coenders, 2001) predict that lower educated persons are more negative toward multiculturalism because they might feel more threatened by immigrants as they have equal (or even higher) access to scarce resources (e.g., houses, jobs, education). Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, as well as Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004) both found a positive effect of level of education on multiculturalism.

### *The Present Study*

The present study examines the concept of multiculturalism as seen by Dutch majority group members. It is one of the first studies to address links



between multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup relation aspects. The Netherlands is an interesting country in which to study multiculturalism, as its population has changed in a few decades from a largely homogeneous group to a more heterogeneous population. Currently, about 9% of the population are foreign (i.e., non-Western) born or have at least one parent born in a non-Western country (Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek, 2006).

The current study elaborates on Breugelmans and Van de Vijver's (2004) study by using a much larger sample and by examining a larger number of correlates of multiculturalism. These authors examined the relationship among multiculturalism and knowledge about immigrant groups, life satisfaction, perceived negative social norms (which deal with multiculturalism as a threat to the society), perceived positive social norms (which deal with support for multiculturalism), social desirability, perceived life opportunities, and actual contacts with immigrants. A good fit was found for a path model in which the first four aspects were antecedents of multicultural attitudes, which in turn predicted actual contact.

In Breugelmans and Van de Vijver's (2004) model, multiculturalism was only related with intergroup relational aspects—such as perceived social norms, contact, and knowledge—and several background variables. The current study includes acculturation aspects in two different ways; namely, what acculturation strategies immigrant groups should choose according to mainstreamers, and their own norms about acculturation. In addition, the present study examines the relation between ethnic hierarchy and multiculturalism.

The present study has four goals. First, the psychometric characteristics of scales measuring the three key concepts—multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup relational aspects—are examined. It is expected that the concept of multiculturalism will have a unidimensional structure (Hypothesis 1a). Furthermore, it is expected that the structure of acculturation will also be unidimensional (Hypothesis 1b; see Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). It is yet unclear what kind of structure intergroup relational aspects have in the views of Dutch majority members.

Second, the attitudes toward multiculturalism and acculturation are examined. It is expected that Dutch majority members will be neutral toward multiculturalism (Hypothesis 2a), and that Dutch majority members will prefer adjustment by immigrant groups (Hypothesis 2b), and will be less in favor of cultural maintenance by immigrant groups (Hypothesis 2c), despite the differences between private and public domains (see Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003).

Third, the relation among multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup relational aspect is explored. According to Berry's (2001) framework, acculturation and intergroup relational aspects should be related to multi-

cultural attitudes. Support for cultural maintenance by immigrants will be positively related to multiculturalism (Hypothesis 3a). Negative aspects of intergroup relations, such as feelings of threat toward immigrants and feeling more distant toward immigrants, will be negatively related to multiculturalism (Hypothesis 3b). Positive aspects of intergroup relations, such as having contact and knowing more about immigrants, will be positively related to multiculturalism (Hypothesis 3c).

Finally, the relation among demographic variables, person characteristics, and multiculturalism is addressed. It is expected that level of education will be positively related to multiculturalism (Hypothesis 4).

## Method

### *Participants*

The present study involves 1,285 Dutch majority members (681 female, 592 male, 12 participants did not indicate their gender), who live in Tilburg, a city in the southern part of The Netherlands. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 97 years. The men ( $M = 44.97$  years) were significantly older than the women ( $M = 41.98$  years),  $F(1, 1271) = 12.20, p < .001$ .

Level of education was rated from 1 (*no education*) to 7 (*university*). A score of 4 to 5 represents having completed secondary education. The men were more highly educated ( $M = 4.79$ ) than were the women ( $M = 4.58$ ),  $F(1, 1259) = 7.28, p < .05$ ; although the difference was very small, Cohen's (Cohen, 1988)  $d = .15$ .<sup>3</sup> Most of the men (72.5%), as well as most of the women (64.3%) were in paid jobs.

At the time of the study (December 2001), Tilburg had 195,825 inhabitants. Of those inhabitants, 15% were non-Western immigrants, which is higher than the national figure (9%), but comparable to other Dutch cities of similar or larger size.

### *Instruments*

A questionnaire was administered, which consists of six parts: Demographic Characteristics, Multiculturalism, Immigrants' Acculturation, Dutch Majority's Acculturation, Intergroup Relations, and Person Characteristics. We used two scales (the Multicultural Attitude Scale, and the

<sup>3</sup>Effect sizes between .20 and .50 refer to small differences; between .50 and .80 refer to moderate differences; and above .80 refer to large differences (Cohen, 1988).

Perceived Social Norms Scale) from Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004). The other scales were developed for the present study. Questions were formulated as statements that could be answered on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*totally agree*) to 7 (*totally disagree*), unless stated otherwise. The first part of the questionnaire asked questions about age, gender, highest level of education, job, and ZIP code (which in The Netherlands allows for determining the location of residence, up to street level).

The second part assessed multiculturalism and consists of three subscales. The first subscale is the Multicultural Attitudes Scale, which is an adapted version with 24 items of the scale used by Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004). The subscale assesses global attitudes toward multicultural issues. A sample item is "I approve of immigrant women wearing head scarves." The second subscale is the Advantages of Multiculturalism Scale, which contains five items and deals with the advantages of a multicultural society. A sample item is "It is good for The Netherlands to learn from the various cultures that are living in this country." The third subscale is the Disadvantages of Multiculturalism Scale, with five items concerning the disadvantages of a multicultural society. A sample item is "It is bad when the unity of The Netherlands will get lost because of the cultures of immigrants."

The third part of the questionnaire involved views on immigrant acculturation. This part contains five scales. The Assimilation Preference Scale (5 items) deals with the acculturation strategies of immigrants as preferred by Dutch majority members in which both issues about public and private domains were asked. The *public domain* involves life outside the homes of immigrants, the use of the Dutch and ethnic language in public life, and having contact and cooperation with Dutch majority members. The *private domain* deals with raising children and the use of the Dutch and ethnic language at home. Sample items are "Immigrants should adapt more to the Dutch culture when they are outside their houses" (public domain), and "Immigrants should raise their children according to the Dutch way" (private domain).

The Norms About Assimilation Scale contains eight items and includes statements about what immigrants ought to do with regard to assimilation according to Dutch majority members. Also, issues about public and private domains were asked. Sample items are "Immigrants ought to give up their own culture more" (public domain), and "Immigrants ought to be open to the Dutch way of raising children" (private domain).

In the Preference for Cultural Maintenance Scale (5 items), respondents were asked to what extent they prefer immigrants to retain their culture in private and public domains. Sample items are "Immigrants should get more opportunities to use their own language outside their homes" (public domain), and "Immigrants should pass on their own language to their children" (private domain).

The Immigrant Behavior Adaptation Scale contains five statements about attitudes toward the adaptation behavior of immigrants in public and private domains. Sample items are "Immigrants adapt very well to the Dutch society" (public domain), and "Immigrants raise their children according to the Dutch ways" (private domain).

Finally, the Immigrant Cultural Maintenance Scale (5 items) assesses attitudes toward the cultural maintenance behavior of immigrants in public and private domains. Sample items are "Outside their homes, immigrants stick too much to their own culture" (public domain), and "Immigrants have their own way of raising their children" (private domain).

The fourth part of the questionnaire assesses perceived norms on implications of the multicultural composition of the Dutch society for Dutch mainstreamers. This part contains one scale, the Norms About Acceptance of Diversity and Ethnic Life Scale (or the Dutch Majority Acculturation Scale). This scale (8 items) asks about the (dis)approval of the way of life of immigrants in public and private domains. Sample items are "Dutch majority members ought to approve that immigrants speak their own language when they are together" (public domain), and "Dutch majority members ought to approve that immigrants have their own way of raising their children" (private domain).

The fifth part of the questionnaire contains four subscales dealing with intergroup relations. The Perceived Social Norms Scale (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004) contains nine items. A sample item is "Most people in my social environment think that city districts with many immigrants are less safe."

The Ethnic Distance Scale (5 items) measures the extent to which participants feel differences between themselves and five prominent immigrant groups in The Netherlands. A sample item is "How many differences are there between you and Turks?" The same was asked for Moroccans, Surinamers, Antilleans, and Somali. Responses were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*very many differences*) to 7 (*very few differences*).

The Direct Contact Scale contains three items. Participants responded to the first item ("Do you know any immigrants?") by selecting one of the following response options: *Yes, many*; *Yes, a few*; *No, not any*; or *I do not know*. In response to the question "How much contact do you have with immigrants?" participants responded by selecting *daily*, *weekly*, *monthly*, *less than monthly*, or *no contact*. Finally, in response to the question "Have you spoken to immigrants during the last week?" participants selected *Yes*, *No*, or *Do not know*.

The Knowledge About Immigrants Scale contains five factual statements, which measure knowledge about the most prominent immigrant groups in The Netherlands. A sample item is "Papiamentu is the official Surinamese

language.” Response options are *True*, *Not true*, or *Do not know*. A sixth item was added to examine the extent to which participants had looked up the correct answers (i.e., “The 21<sup>st</sup> of October is a national holiday in Somalia”), as it was assumed that almost no one would not know the correct answer and would select the option *Do not know*. Almost all participants chose this option (95%); 46 participants (3.9%) filled in the correct answer, and 11 participants (0.1%) filled in the incorrect answer. This suggests that not many participants looked up the correct answers.

The sixth part of the questionnaire, involving person characteristics, contains two subscales. The first subscale is the Life Satisfaction Scale. This scale contains items asking about how satisfied respondents are with their life in general, living conditions, work situation, and education. A sample item is “I am satisfied with my situation at work.” The second subscale is the Perceived Opportunities Scale. This scale contains items about how respondents view their perceived opportunities, as compared to those of immigrants in the same domains as in the Life Satisfaction Scale. A sample item is “My possibilities in life are better than those of minority members.”

### *Procedure*

Mail survey questionnaires were sent to 5,000 households (1,000 per district). The city council of Tilburg delivered the addresses of a probability sample of Dutch majority members living in Tilburg to the Tilburg University. The questionnaires were mailed in December 2001, including a letter explaining the nature and purpose of this study and the participating organizations (Tilburg University and the City Council). Participants (only one member of a household) were requested to (voluntarily and anonymously) take part in this study and to return their questionnaires by mail using a postage-paid return envelope. The response rate was 25.7%.

### *Results*

The description of the results is divided into four sections. The first part presents the psychometric properties of the scales. The second part examines the level of support among Dutch majority members for multiculturalism, cultural maintenance, and adaptation by immigrants. A path model of multiculturalism is presented in the third part. The final part explores the relation between perceived opportunities, life satisfaction, demographic variables, and multiculturalism.

*Psychometric Properties*

Explanatory factor analyses and internal consistency were used to describe the psychometric properties of the scales. The three multiculturalism subscales (i.e., Multicultural Attitudes Scale, Advantages of Multiculturalism Scale, and Disadvantages of Multiculturalism Scale) loaded on one factor (principal components). The scree plot suggested the extraction of a single factor (explaining 40.5% of the variance; see Table 1). No meaningful interpretation emerged for any multifactorial solution. After reversing the negatively formulated items, the loadings of all items were higher than .49. Internal consistency (Cronbach's  $\alpha$ ) was .95. This finding confirms Hypothesis 1a: For Tilburg's Dutch majority group members, multiculturalism does not consist of separate, independent aspects, but it is a single concept.

The immigrant acculturation subscales (i.e., Assimilation Preference Scale, Norms About Assimilation Scale, Preference for Cultural Maintenance Scale, Immigrants' Behavior Adaptation Scale, and Immigrants' Cultural Maintenance Scale) also loaded on one factor, explaining 41.8% of the

Table 1

*Psychometric Properties of Scales*

Scale	Eigenvalues of first two factors	Variance accounted for by first factor	$\alpha$
Multiculturalism	13.77, 2.33	41%	.95
Immigrants' acculturation	8.78, 1.96	42%	.89
Dutch majority members' acculturation	4.38, 0.87	55%	.88
Intergroup relations	2.94, 0.97	49%	.79
Ethnic distance	3.51, 0.69	70%	.89
Direct contact	2.11, 0.59	70%	.77
Knowledge about immigrants	1.68, 0.97	34%	.50
Person characteristics			
Life satisfaction	1.97, 0.85	49%	.64
Perceived opportunities	2.75, 0.48	69%	.85

variance (see Table 1). Again, a scree test and problems with interpreting multifactorial solutions pointed to a single factorial solution. The loadings of the items (some items had to be reversed because of the direction of the wording) were all higher than .48, and Cronbach's alpha was .89, suggesting that the way Tilburg's Dutch majority members want immigrant groups to acculturate is homogeneous, as predicted in Hypothesis 1b.

The remaining scales (i.e., Dutch Majority Members' Acculturation, Intergroup Relations, and Person Characteristics) also appeared to be unidimensional. The psychometric characteristics of all of these scales are presented in Table 1. Internal consistencies of all of the scales were above .77. Lower values were found for life satisfaction (.64) and knowledge about immigrants (.50). The relatively low numbers of items in the scales may underlie these low values.

#### *Attitudes Toward Multiculturalism and Acculturation*

Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c referred to mean scores on various aspects of multiculturalism (therefore, mean scores on separate scales rather than on the factors of the previous section were used). One-sample *t* tests were conducted to test whether the attitudes of Dutch majority members differed significantly from the neutral scale midpoint (i.e., 4 for all scales). The results, displayed in Figure 1, show that the respondents were slightly positive toward multiculturalism ( $d = 0.21$ ; all  $d$  values reported here are significant,  $p < .001$ ). Contrary to Hypothesis 2a, the mean was significantly above the midpoint, although the effect size was small.

Dutch majority members agreed with the advantages of multiculturalism ( $d = 0.95$ ), but they also agreed slightly with the disadvantages ( $d = 0.45$ ). Mean scores on the Assimilation Preference Subscale and the Norms About Assimilation Subscale were much above the scale midpoint ( $d = 2.51$  and  $2.80$ ), which means that the respondents strongly favored adaptation of immigrants in the host society in both the public and private domains, thus confirming Hypothesis 2b. The effect size of preference for cultural maintenance was small and negative ( $d = -0.20$ ). Respondents slightly disapproved of cultural maintenance by immigrants in public and private domains, thus confirming Hypothesis 2c. The effect size of the Immigrants' Behavior Adaptation Scale was large and negative ( $d = -0.98$ ). Respondents believed that immigrants' behavior is not adapted to the Dutch culture. The analysis of the Immigrants' Cultural Maintenance Scale shows that respondents perceived immigrants' behavior as holding to their own culture ( $d = 1.68$ ). Finally, the effect size of norms about acceptance of diversity and ethnic life was moderate and positive ( $d = 0.48$ ), meaning that Dutch majority members think that there is a norm to approve cultural maintenance by immigrants.

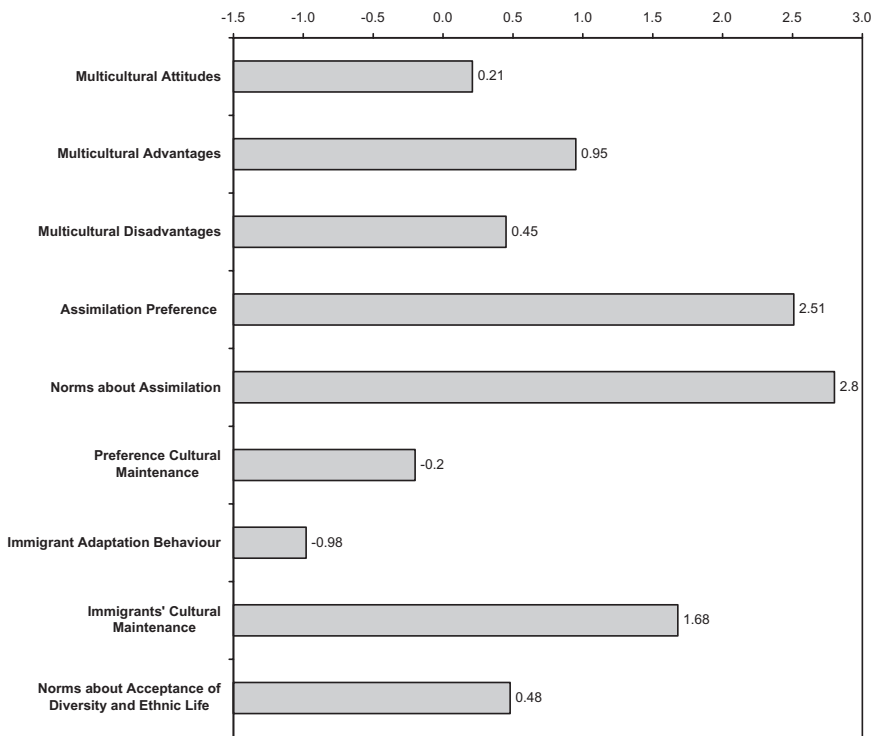


Figure 1. Effect sizes on multiculturalism and acculturation scales. *Note.* Values denote Cohen's *d*. A value of 0 indicates a neutral attitude, while values below 0 indicate disagreement, and values above 0 indicate agreement.

### *Toward a Model of Multiculturalism*

The relations between multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup relation aspects were examined in a structural equation model, as depicted in Figure 2. Using AMOS 5.0 (Arbuckle, 2003), an acceptable fit was obtained,  $\chi^2(8, N = 1285) = 12.12, p = .15$ ;  $\chi^2/df = 1.52$  (recommended  $< 2.50$ ). Other indexes confirm the good fit of the model: The Tucker–Lewis Index (TLI) was .997 (recommended  $\geq .90$ ); the comparative fit index (CFI) was .999 (recommended  $\geq .90$ ); the goodness of fit index (GFI) was .997 (recommended  $\geq .95$ ); the adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI) was .991 (recommended  $\geq .90$ ); and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) was .02 (recommended  $\leq .06$ ). The path model is drawn in Figure 2.

The model explained 77% of the variation in attitudes toward multiculturalism, a much more modest 5% in contact with immigrants, and 7% in



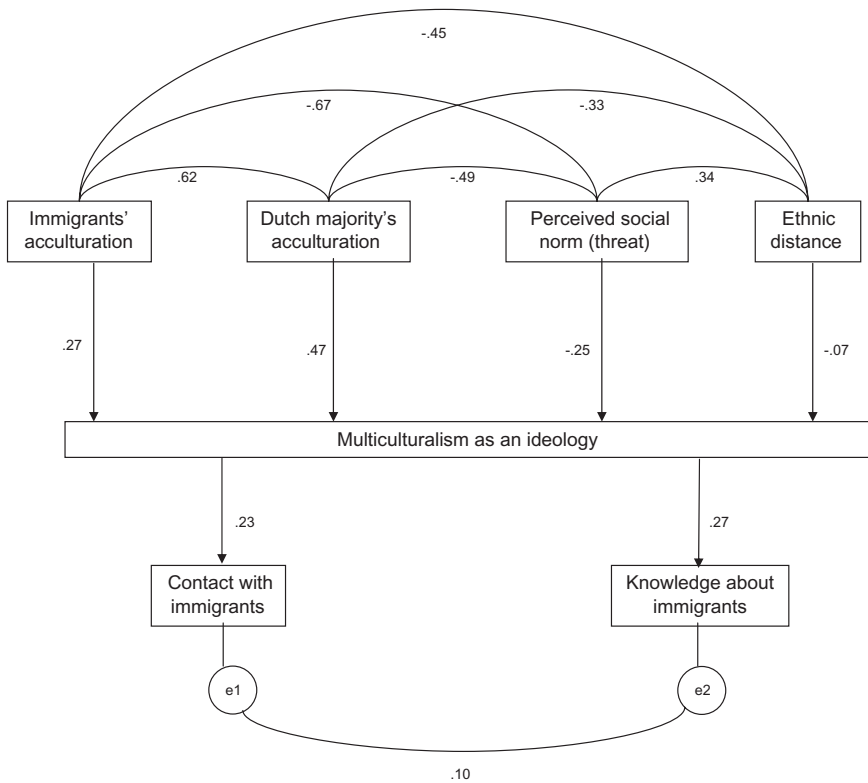


Figure 2. Multiculturalism model: Relations of multiculturalism with acculturation and inter-group relations. (standardized solutions; all coefficients are significant,  $p < .05$ ).

knowledge about immigrants. According to the model, attitudes toward multiculturalism are predicted by four variables: acculturation strategies as preferred (and also as a norm) by Dutch majority members ( $\beta = .27$ ; all coefficients are standardized and significant,  $p < .05$ ); the host members' own acculturation ( $\beta = .47$ ); and two intergroup relational aspects, perceived social norms as a threat ( $\beta = -.25$ ), and ethnic distance ( $\beta = -.07$ ). So, a Dutch majority group member tends to have more positive attitudes toward multiculturalism as an ideology if he or she thinks that it is accepted that immigrants can maintain their culture (in private as well as in public domains), perceives norms that support cultural diversity and the way immigrants live, thinks that significant others do not perceive immigrants as a threat, or does not experience many differences with other cultural groups. As can be seen in Figure 2, all four of these scales were correlated. Further-

more, majority group members with a more positive multiculturalism ideology tend to have more contact with immigrants ( $\beta = .23$ ) and to know more about immigrants ( $\beta = .27$ ). Contact with immigrants and knowledge about immigrants were also correlated ( $r = .10$ ).

In summary, the model suggests that acculturation aspects can be seen as antecedents of multiculturalism, whereas intergroup relations aspects can be seen as both antecedents and outcomes, depending on its characteristics. It seems that aspects such as ethnic attitudes, ethnic prejudice, and ethnic stereotypes (e.g., perceived social norms as a threat, social distance) can be viewed as antecedents, while other aspects (e.g., contact, knowledge) are outcomes. It was predicted that more support for cultural maintenance and less need for adaptation to the host society would be positively related with multiculturalism (Hypothesis 3a), intergroup aspects like threat and ethnic distance negatively (Hypothesis 3b), and intergroup aspects like contact and knowledge positively with multiculturalism (Hypothesis 3c). All hypotheses pertaining to the model were confirmed.

#### *Relation Between Demographic Variables, Person Characteristics, and Multiculturalism*

The influence of demographic variables and person characteristics on multiculturalism was studied in a series of regression analyses. Age, gender, level of education, percentage of immigrants in one's district, perceived opportunities, and life satisfaction were predictors. Each of the variables of the path model served as a dependent variable. The results are presented in Table 2.

The first regression analysis shows a significant effect on the multiculturalism scale ( $R^2 = .20$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 53.09$ ,  $p < .01$ . Five variables show significant regression weights; namely, age ( $\beta = -.07$ ; all reported coefficients are standardized and significant at the 5% level), gender ( $\beta = .08$ ), education ( $\beta = .31$ ), perceived opportunities ( $\beta = .21$ ), and percentage of immigrants ( $\beta = -.06$ ). These results mean that younger persons, women, more highly educated persons, and respondents who thought that compared to immigrants they had more opportunities in life, and persons living in districts with fewer immigrants reported more positive attitudes toward multiculturalism.

The second regression analysis addresses positive attitudes toward immigrants' acculturation ( $R^2 = .15$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 37.53$ ,  $p < .01$ . All predictors except for gender had significant values (see Table 2). The third analysis shows a significant effect on attitudes toward the Dutch majority's acculturation ( $R^2 = .15$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 39.71$ ,  $p < .01$ . Three variables had significant standardized regression coefficients: gender, level of education, and perceived

Table 2  
*Standardized Regression Weights of Multiple Regression Analyses With Demographic Variables and Person Characteristics Predicting Multiculturalism, Acculturation, and Intergroup Relation Aspects*

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables						
	Multi-culturalism	Immigrants' Acculturation	Dutch Majority's acculturation	Perceived Social Norms as a Threat	Social Distance	Contact with immigrants	Knowledge about immigrants
Age	-.07*	-.14**	-.03	.09**	.03	-.29**	.04
Gender	.08**	.03	.07*	-.01	-.03	-.09**	-.04
Level of Education	.31**	.24**	.27**	-.22**	-.06	.07*	.31**
Percentage of immigrants	-.06*	-.07*	-.01	.12**	.01	.01	-.06*
Life Satisfaction	.00	-.08**	-.01	.01	.02	.02	-.03
Perceived Opportunities	.21**	.17**	.20**	-.13**	-.06*	-.10**	.06*
R <sup>2</sup>	.20**	.15**	.15**	.12**	.01**	.12**	.12**

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

opportunities (see Table 2). The fourth analysis examines perceived social norms as a threat ( $R^2 = .12$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 28.14$ ,  $p < .01$ . All variables were significant, except for gender and life satisfaction (see Table 2). The fifth analysis shows a significant effect on social distance ( $R^2 = .01$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 2.62$ ,  $p < .05$ . Only one variable had a significant regression coefficient; namely, perceived opportunities. The sixth analysis examines contact with immigrants ( $R^2 = .12$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 27.22$ ,  $p < .01$ . All variables had significant regression coefficients, except for percentages of immigrants and life satisfaction. The last analysis shows a significant effect on knowledge about immigrants ( $R^2 = .11$ ),  $F(6, 1251) = 26.71$ ,  $p < .01$ . Three variables had significant regression coefficients; namely, level of education, percentages of immigrants, and perceived opportunities (see Table 2).

In summary, level of education (which is in line with Hypothesis 4) and perceived opportunities appeared to be the strongest predictors. The latter variable had a consistent, though not always large effect on all seven dependent variables; whereas the former had a significant effect on six dependent variables (no effect on social distance). Age had a negative effect in four analyses: Younger persons were more in favor of multiculturalism and saw the cultural heterogeneity of the population less as a threat than did older persons. The percentage of immigrants was significant in four analyses; a higher percentage of immigrants living in one's district was associated with more negatives views toward multiculturalism, although its effects were small. The effect of gender was rather small and inconsistent across analyses. Life satisfaction appeared to be the weakest predictor. A small effect was found in only one case (i.e., immigrants' acculturation).

## Discussion

Attitudes toward multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup relations were investigated among 1,285 Dutch majority group members. We found four main results. First, the construct of multiculturalism appeared to be unidimensional. In addition, immigrants' acculturation also showed a unidimensional construct, when the items were converted in one direction: more cultural maintenance and less adaptation into the host society (or in the opposite manner: less cultural maintenance and more adaptation). The scales measuring intergroup relational aspects, perceived social norms, social distance, contact with immigrants, and knowledge about immigrants were all unidimensional.

Second, Dutch majority members slightly agreed with multiculturalism, and agreed both with the advantages and the disadvantages of multiculturalism. Furthermore, the respondents preferred less cultural maintenance and

more adaptation to the host society, and did not make a difference between public and private domains in this matter. Our participants reported two seemingly incompatible norms. On the one hand, they perceived a norm according to which immigrants ought to adapt to the Dutch society. On the other hand, they also perceived a norm to endorse the ethnic life in The Netherlands. So, participants believed that immigrants ought to adapt as much as possible, but they also believed that the majority group ought to accept cultural maintenance by immigrants.

Third, a path model showed that multicultural attitudes are predicted by views on immigrants' acculturation, Dutch majority's acculturation, perceived social norms as a threat, and social distance. In turn, multicultural attitudes predicted the amount of contact with immigrants and its knowledge about immigrants. Finally, perceived opportunities and level of education were the strongest predictors of multicultural attitudes, and also of acculturation and intergroup relational aspects. Age was a fairly consistent (negative) predictor, possibly because younger persons are better educated or are more familiar with the plural composition of their society. Percentage of immigrants only showed small effects. Gender effects were small and inconsistent, and life satisfaction was the weakest predictor of multiculturalism.

The current study shows that, in line with current theories, acculturation strategies and intergroup relations are related to multiculturalism (e.g., Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Brewer & Brown, 1998). Our structural equation model deviates from the theoretical models in two ways. First, the path model suggests that acculturation aspects are antecedents of multicultural attitudes, whereas Berry argued that acculturation attitudes are counterparts (in the sense of companions) of a multicultural ideology. Berry's framework combines the views of immigrants and majority members: Acculturation aspects refer to the immigrants' preferences, while the intergroup relations aspects are derived from the majority's perceptions. However, our study was based on acculturation preferences, as viewed by the majority group. Our statistical modeling shows that the acculturation preferences of mainstreamers are better viewed as antecedents of multiculturalism.

Second, Berry's (2001) framework proposes that intergroup relational aspects (ethnic stereotypes, ethnic attitudes, and ethnic prejudice) are antecedents of multiculturalism ideology. However, the path model of the present study suggested that intergroup relational aspects can be both antecedents as outcomes of multiculturalism ideology. Intergroup relational aspects that are negatively related with multiculturalism (perceived social norms as a threat, and ethnic distance) seemed to be antecedents, and aspects positively related with multiculturalism (contact with immigrants, and knowledge about immigrants) were outcomes. Future research should include more intergroup relational aspects (like ethnic stereotypes and attitudes) to enable a more

detailed view of the relationship between multiculturalism and intergroup relational aspects.

Similarly, the contact hypothesis argues that contact and knowledge predict positive attitudes toward out-groups, while the current results suggested that contact and knowledge are predicted by attitudes. Two explanations could be given. First, the contact hypothesis deals with attitudes toward a specific out-group, while the current study assessed attitudes toward multiculturalism. A multicultural society handles different cultural groups at the same time, and is a much broader concept than having contact with out-groups. So, it could be that these two different kinds of attitudes cannot be interchanged with respect to the contact hypothesis. Second, other models of intergroup relations, acculturation, and multiculturalism could be envisioned. For example, contact, knowledge, and attitudes could be related in bidirectional causal loops. Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004) found that knowledge predicted multicultural attitudes, which in turn predicted the amount of contact with immigrants. So, the relationship between ethnic contact, knowledge, ethnic prejudice, and attitudes might be more complex than assumed in the contact hypothesis.

Some of the results are in line with previous findings. For example, multiculturalism has been found to be unidimensional previously (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). In addition, Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) showed that the acculturation strategies of immigrants preferred by majority members is also a homogeneous concept (for the majority group), and that the Dutch majority favor adaptation into the host society and less cultural maintenance (see also Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). The current study also replicated the findings of Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) in that the public-private distinction was found to be irrelevant in the attitudes of majority members. The finding that acculturation is unidimensional suggests that majority members perceive cultural maintenance and adaptation to the host society as the two endpoints of a continuum. Therefore, they do not make a distinction between public and private domains, and prefer adaptation by immigrants in all life domains, including the private sphere. Because multiculturalism as an ideology also contains both of these aspects, this might be the same reason for majority members to perceive multiculturalism also as one concept.

There is an important difference in the relevance of the private-public distinction between the majority group and immigrant groups. Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) showed that immigrants make a sharp distinction between the public life sphere, in which they view integration as the preferred mode of acculturation, and the private life sphere, in which they prefer separation. The differences in views held by majority members and immigrants are a potential source of conflict. Yet, the differences offer scope for

government policy. The widely shared respect for privacy and freedom in the personal sphere in The Netherlands could be a starting point for a government policy to increase recognition and acceptance of the public-private distinction in acculturation. Support for maintenance in the public domain is unlikely to be supported by the Dutch majority, but support for maintenance in the private domain probably should be much easier to obtain, especially since the current study showed that Dutch majority members believed that they should accept immigrants' cultural maintenance, besides their great preference for immigrants to adjust as much as possible.

Hypothesis 2a was not confirmed because a slightly positive attitude toward multiculturalism was found (although the effect size was small). Previous studies reported a neutral attitude (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000). Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004) found that Dutch majority members, on average, had a neutral attitude toward multiculturalism, comprised of relatively negative attitudes toward cultural maintenance and involvement with immigrants (i.e., the *negative* items); and relatively positive attitudes toward equal rights, participation, and interaction (i.e., the *positive* items). Some items from Breugelmans and Van de Vijver's scale about more negative aspects were replaced in the present questionnaire, which may account for the slightly higher level of support for multiculturalism that was found in the current study.

The slightly positive attitudes toward multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004) contrast with public discourse on the topic, especially after some major negative events (Van de Vijver, Schalk-Soekar, Arends-Tóth, & Breugelmans, 2006). The data of the current study were collected in December 2001, which was shortly after "9/11" and before the assassination in 2002 of Pim Fortuyn. At the time of the study, Fortuyn was a popular politician, who said that the multicultural policy of the Dutch government was too liberal and permissive. There seems to be a widely held view, stimulated by the Dutch public media, which holds that support of multiculturalism has decreased remarkably following these negative events. A comparison of data collected prior to 9/11 (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003), between 9/11 and the assassination of Fortuyn (the current study), and after the latter event (Schalk-Soekar, Breugelmans, & Van de Vijver, in press) shows a remarkable stability in the neutral attitude of the Dutch majority. So, multicultural attitudes seem to be stable in The Netherlands, even after seemingly crucial, negative events.

Finally, a limitation of the current study should be mentioned. Bourhis et al. (1997) and Berry and Kalin (1995) mentioned the importance of including members of both ethnic groups and the mainstream group in a study so as to get a more comprehensive picture of attitudes toward multiculturalism. This is especially the case because there still exists some confusion about this

concept, as different groups in same or different countries may define the concept in different ways (Ho, 1990). Therefore, the current study would have been more complete if the Dutch immigrants' perceptions or majority members of other countries had been investigated as well. Questions such as whether immigrants' views on multiculturalism would be similar to those of the Dutch majority members, and as a result, could be presented in one model (e.g., Berry's framework, 2001), or if the construct of multiculturalism would differ when studying majority members in other countries are still open for further research.

In short, the current study shows that Dutch mainstreamers are slightly in favor of multiculturalism, and that the Dutch population does not consist of strong opponents and proponents, as sometimes implied by the media. However, the homogeneous perception of both multiculturalism and acculturation, small support for cultural maintenance, and strong support for adaptation suggest that The Netherlands does not unconditionally support the implications of multiculturalism as an ideology, and still must become accustomed to the diversity of its immigrants.

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